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SUNDRY AND DIVERSE POINTS OF INTEREST

FRAUD MAINTAINED BY FORCE

A Capitalist Newspaper's Howl—Prosperity in Japan—Recognition of Socialist Truth—Children and the Flag—Rockefeller the Lubricator

Current Notes and Comments

A society that produced wealth for social use, instead of private profit, would not need soldiers.

A society that held as common or social property the land and all natural resources, would not need sheriffs and jails, policemen and penitentiaries.

A society that had control and ownership of the tools of production—modern machinery—would not need bayonets and barracks.

In brief, if the means of life were social instead of private property, government by capitalists for the maintenance of fraud by force, would be unknown.

Such a society, wherein the means of life will be social property, is social democracy; for it the Social Democratic party stands.

The Chicago Tribune is howling mad at the "pestilent labor agitators" who will not yield to the confidence game which the commercial crew having the fall festival in charge have tried to play. The organization of a bogus "union" to force a non-union corner store into its place in the new postoffice, with the assistance of a president of the United States whose sympathies and acts have ever been in support of the capitalist class, was an outrage that every self-respecting workman should resent. If the new postoffice cannot be built without fraud, organized labor should let it severely alone. As usual the Tribune sees only the commercial side and the possibility that the festival will have to be abandoned; on the "pestilent" labor people, the working class, it pours out a tornado of abuse.

Machinery was shipped this month from Hamilton, Ohio, to Yokohama, Japan, for one of the finest paper mills in the world. It will turn out a 100-inch strip of the finest imperishable book paper, 400 feet long, every minute. Part of our sham prosperity is due to such orders as this. Soon, with no more orders for manufactured goods, and the Eastern people being supplied with our machinery to do their own manufacturing, "we" will be wondering where "prosperity" has gone.

To maintain respect for the flag it is necessary to have special organizations, and we have the "American Flag Patriotic Club," a meddlesome, idiotic outfit in Chicago who want as a part of the regular morning exercises at the public schools "a salute to the flag accompanied with devotional exercises." How would it do to send an order to Birmingham for a consignment of brass gods, such as are used by the ignorant and fanatical Hindus?

A prominent insurance man said to one of the speakers at the trust conference: "Competition has got us where the only dress we ought to wear is cap and bells." It occurs to us that while that would probably be a most becoming dress for the majority of those who defend the present system, there are many for whom a striped suit would be more appropriate. The fool is numerous enough, but the knave plays an important role.

At a meeting of French Socialists, Sept. 10, it was decided to give the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry complete support. A crisis is looked for, however, and the Socialists are not fully agreed as to the policy of supporting a government which they cannot control. Their participation at all is only justified by the menace to popular liberty and the wisdom of it on this ground is in question.

The State of Wisconsin has distinguished itself by imprisoning a child 11 years old for stealing some ice-cream. Little Fred Stillman, living at Berlin, Wis., passed a whole month locked up in a county jail with "criminals of the worst stamp." And "we" allow criminals who make laws to punish children to run the State and all its institutions, even the prisons, for their own profit.

Rockefeller, the oil man, has proposed to lubricate another university with a quarter of a million dollars. This time it is Brown University which is to be brought under the blight of this capitalist debaucher. He will give about one

week's income for the privilege of holding the faculty down to a curriculum dealing with the dead past and blinding the people to the problems of the living present.

Only the Socialists have a final solution of the problem, was a sentiment uttered by a speaker on the first day of the trust conference. And that is a fact that slowly penetrates the mind of all thinking persons. Circle by circle the tree is built and slowly the inevitable and the adequate plan dawns upon the horizon of a confused and conservative world.

Capital is the result of the combined efforts of successive generations of workers—not successive generations of rulers or statesmen, or owners of capital, but of workers. It should be the common heritage of the workers and not, as now, the possession of a few who have not the industry to create nor the skill to preserve it.

The private control and ownership of the productive powers of the country is condemned because it involves a new form of subjection inconsistent with a free and educated democracy, and because it is inconsistent with the growing ethical ideas and convictions of our time.

What a beautiful system it is! Is it? Two judges of the criminal court of Chicago have been assigned 2,314 civil cases. The courts are so "prosperous" that they have "orders" on hand more than enough to keep the "works" running a whole year.

Nearly all the influential German papers of the country, to their credit, are opposed to the Philippine war.

Backward or Forward

The centralization and organization of production of to-day convinces a Socialist that the economic evolution of the past and present will develop into the co-operative commonwealth of the future. We are sure of this as we are that the earth will continue to revolve on its axis.

It is the inevitable law of evolution. We cannot remain in our present state of anarchy. We must either go backward or forward. And the history of the world teaches that the betterment and civilization of mankind has ever been through man's efforts to obtain his ideal. In all ages and all countries these ideals have been opposed, laughed at and jeered at, even as Socialism is opposed to-day. But evidently we have passed the stage of laughing and jeering and by our straightforward and earnest conduct, are commanding respectful opposition to our doctrines. To our criticisms of the disorganized and wasteful methods of production in existence to-day, even the most ardent capitalists have to agree. For their very acts in attempting to organize industry are giving the lie to the competitive system. They recognize the saving of labor and material that attend a proper system of production.

But the trouble is they use this knowledge for the advantage of the class possessing the means of production, where the Socialists would use the organized means of all production and distribution for the benefit of all the people. And surely by assuring every individual equal opportunities and all or the equivalent of all he produces, would be using our knowledge and genius far better than to continue as at present to make the poor poorer and the rich richer, and increasing vice, crime and misery of every description. The declaration of independence guarantees the rights of man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We all know we are entitled to these rights, but we are denied the means to make life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness an established fact. That is what Socialists want every one to recognize and work to make a reality instead of a myth. The only way it can be made a reality is for the people to take possession of the means of production and distribution and administer them in an orderly and scientific manner for the benefit of every member of society. Make a man economically free and a race of moral and intelligent men and women will develop such as has never existed.

P. Egerton.

The first annual picnic of the Social Democratic Party, in Chicago last Sunday, though not attended by as many as the committee expected, on account of the threatening weather conditions all day, turned out a success, much to the gratification of all who worked hard to make it so. The City Committee will receive some funds to carry on the work, and all are agreed that next year one of the big events will be the second annual picnic.

SOCIALISM AND THE CRISIS IN FRANCE

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

Wisdom of Millerand's Entrance into the Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry—Aim of Socialism and Bourgeois Politics—The Duty of French Socialists

From Justice, London, England

We published recently a circular which our comrades Jaures and Gerault-Richard have issued to some of the best known Socialists of France and of other countries inviting their opinion on the two important points to be considered at the French Nationalist Socialist Congress to be held shortly. As these two points represent questions of principle which may at any time confront the Socialists of other countries, our French comrades have done well to submit them for international consideration. With regard to the first, we of the S. D. F. have always acted upon the principle that Socialists are not only justified in entering into the conflicts which arise from time to time between the bourgeois parties, but that it is frequently their duty to do so in the interests of justice and humanity and in defense of such political liberties as we at present possess. Thus we have championed the right of free speech and of public meeting; not only for ourselves, but for our bitterest opponents. We have agitated, with radicals and others, against coercion in Ireland, and against wars and aggression abroad. The present movement for war with the Transvaal is not a matter which specially concerns us as Socialists; nor can we pretend to any great love or sympathy for President Kruger and his Boers. We hold, however, that they are in the right in maintaining their independence against the nefarious schemes of the disreputable gang of gold grabbers of whom the Right Honorable Joseph Chamberlain appears to have constituted himself the agent, and for that reason we oppose the jingo policy of which he is at once the chief advocate and instrument. So, too, we have entirely and heartily endorsed the action Jaures and his colleagues have taken in the Eryfus case, although we must confess to having become sometimes rather tired of the "affaire" and the hubbub it was causing.

On the other hand, we have had, and have expressed, our misgivings as to the wisdom of the step taken by Millerand in entering the Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry. The crisis—the very existence of the Republic being threatened by the Royalist and Imperialist, clerical and military reaction and a coup d'etat being plotted—may have rendered such a step necessary in the opinion of the French Socialists as a whole, and that, in our view, was the only thing which could have justified it. As a matter of principle, it is incompatible with his political faith for a Socialist to be a member of a bourgeois Ministry; the Socialist movement aims at overthrowing the very institutions which such a Ministry is formed to defend. Until it can actually control all the public powers, the proper place for the Socialist Party is in Opposition. If it participates in a Government which it cannot control it may constantly find itself committed to a policy, to legislation, and to acts of administration to which it is utterly opposed. It is possible that a crisis so menacing to popular liberty may arise as to justify the temporary participation of a Socialist in a bourgeois Ministry, but such a part should only, in our opinion, be taken upon the advice of the national party, and the position should be resigned as soon as the crisis is over. We held it to be the duty of French Socialists to support the Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry against the clerico-military reaction. Whether the situation was sufficiently grave to warrant Millerand in taking office in that ministry, or whether his doing so helped matters in any way, were, of course, questions for our French comrades themselves to determine. Certain it is, that the present French Government has already been guilty of acts of which every Socialist must strongly disapprove.

Take, for instance, the marked difference which the Government has shown in the treatment it meted out to Sebastian Faure and the "libertarian" demonstrators of the other Sunday, and that accorded to the Anti-Semite Guerin and his fellow-farceurs of the Rue Chabrol. In the one case a body of peaceable demonstrators, good Republicans and defenders of the Republic, is set upon by the civil and military forces of the Republic, hustled, beaten, ridden down, fired upon, and driven into acts of violence in retaliation. In the other case a small gang of cowardly criminals, avowed conspirators against, and enemies of the Republic, who would whine like whipped curs if they thought their

precious skins were in danger, barricade themselves in a house, laugh at and baffle the officers sent to effect their arrest, and deride and defy the Government whose elementary duty it is to enforce the law against them. The Rue Chabrol farce is absurd, but it is the Government which is making itself ridiculous, blocking the street at both ends with a small army of gendarmes. And it would be so easy to turn the ridicule against M. Guerin and his friends! Poor calf-hearted creatures, posing as lions, nobody wants to hurt them, although if they were Socialists the Government would not be likely to hesitate at bloodshed. But there is no need to bring force of arms against these "patriots" or to allow them to pose as heroes. A small number of gallant Parisian "pompiers," with a well directed hose, would clear Guerin and his friends out like rats flushed out of a sewer. No doubt, too, after their lengthened sojourn in their "fort," these masquerading swashbucklers would be glad of a bath.

Plato's Search for Justice

The search for an ideal state, in which tranquility and contentment shall be the lot of all its citizens, has commanded the earnest attention of thoughtful men from the earliest times. To its discovery and discussion Plato devoted his masterly powers of intuition in the pages of the "Republic," the second longest of all his works, and by general confession the greatest of them all. It contains that oft-quoted description of the just man, who is content to be without seeming, who possesses righteousness without the reputation of goodness, who "will be scourged, racked, bound, have his eyes put out, and will at last be imported, and all this because he ought to have preferred seeming to being."

The object of the great dialogue is the search for justice, whose essential nature is discovered in the constitution of an ideal political society. The question whether the professed aim of the argument is the definition of justice, or the construction of the state, his translator, Professor Jowett, answers by saying that "the two blend in one, for justice is the order of the state, and the state is the visible embodiment of justice under the conditions of human society. The one is the soul and the other is the body, and the Greek ideal of the state, as of the individual, is a fair mind in a fair body." The individual and the state are constantly compared and contrasted with each other; the perfection of the state is regarded as based upon the perfection of the individual; and the degeneration of the state, through the stages of oligarchy and of democracy, to that of tyranny and anarchy, is pictured as the inevitable result of degeneracy in the character of the private citizen. The love of wisdom is supplanted by the love of power, then the passion for wealth becomes dominant, and this creates a craving for personal liberty, which chafes under the slightest restriction, and ushers in the reign of lawlessness. The reasoning is remarkable for the tenacity with which it insists on the living unity of justice, for the emphasis with which it affirms the identity of public and private righteousness. Plato looks for the ideal state only with the advent of ideal men, according to that famous sentence of his: "Until, then, kings are philosophers, or philosophers are kings, cities will never cease from ill; no, nor the human race; nor will our ideal polity ever come into being."

Here lies the perennial freshness and significance of the "Republic," the masterly force with which public and private justice are traced to a common source, and the clearness with which that common element is defined. But the greatest service which the "Republic" has rendered to political science is the fundamental thought that the virtues of the state are the virtues of the individual, and that justice, in whose search men lose themselves in the mazes of speculative subtlety, is the simplest of all things, the seekers stumbling over it while they are straining their eyes in order to its discovery. And justice is simply "every man doing his own business," maintaining the harmony of his own nature and earnestly prosecuting his own calling. It all amounts to this, that social justice is concerned in securing to every man the rights of his personality, and that the ideal state is one in which every man is gratefully content to be himself. This may seem to be a very trivial outcome of so labored and involved an argument, but the implications of the principle are manifold and far-reaching. The philosophical analysis of the idea of justice and the identification of its public and private forms, impress the careful reader as impregnable positions, unaltered and unalterable, though more than twenty-two centuries separate us from the great Greek thinker. He is the earliest and he is still perhaps the best philosopher of political economy.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN GREATER NEW YORK

THE POLITICIANS AND CAPITALISTS

An Interesting Battle on Between Platt and Croker—Platt the Champion of the Capitalists Wields Greater Power than the Political Boss

By James Allman, New York

Richard Croker, the boss of Tammany Hall, upon his return from Europe accorded an interview to Creelman and in it recanted in the most astonishingly thorough manner all the important political ideas entertained by himself and advocated hitherto by the organization which he controls. The reasons why Croker expresses himself now in favor of William Jennings Bryan to whom he has been hitherto opposed and against expansion and imperialism, which he, until recently, indorsed, are so important from a Socialist point of view that a brief consideration of such reasons and the causes which led up to them may be of much import to those who closely watch the relation between political and economical developments.

The French say the way Paris goes France goes! But we in America cannot say the same of New York City and the rest of this country because Max O'Rell was right, when in his work "Brother Jonathan" he stated:—"There is a Kentuckian, an Illinoisian, an Indian, etc., but there is no such man as an American." The American in different states is so different in ideas, habits and even dialect that probably what happens in New York City is not of import, politically or socially, in states outside of New York, but nevertheless recent occurrences are important from an economic point of view because, while there is not a distinctively American man, there is distinctively an American capitalist, a degenerated species of the genus homo which is sui generis all over the United States.

The events herein recorded and commented upon evidence a remarkable metamorphosis in the nature of the political and sham struggle which has gone on in this city in the past to that of an economic and serious conflict which will take place in the near future.

For more than half a century past and until within very recent time the business affairs of this country were, as far as their direction was concerned, specialized, separated and individualized under the control of small capitalists and among other businesses that of politics was confined to a special and particular set of men who followed that business only. Of this class the remaining representatives are such people as the Richard Crokers, the Paddy Divers, the Silver Dollar Smiths in this city and the Hinkey Dink McKennas and Bath House Johns of Chicago. But with the entry of the trusts and syndicates upon the field the small capitalists were not only eliminated but the trusts and syndicates recognized also what the workers are too abstruse to understand when told by Socialists, that the control of politics and industry should go hand in hand. Hence in the last presidential campaign Mark Hanna. Hence in our state politics here Theodore Roosevelt who is the tool of Platt, who is again a multi-millionaire and is hand in glove with Whitney, Russell Sage et al. The small fry of politicians saw themselves going the way of the small business men. Richard Croker awoke to this situation when too late.

He perceived that while he held the position of political boss of New York City that the Whitneys, Goulds, Vanderbilts and Sages were its industrial bosses. Anxious to secure a place among the new capitalist politicians, he early in this year endeavored to float a gigantic financial scheme which had for its object the application of compressed air as a means of locomotion for a certain new line of surface cars. It was rumored and not denied at that time that he offered the very insignificant sum of \$70,000 for the privilege of attaching compressed air tubes to the superstructure of the Manhattan Elevated Railroad. Such a privilege obviating as it would the necessity of constructing other either subterranean or superterranean means for the same purpose, would be worth some millions of dollars. Croker offered the mere nominal price mentioned thinking that the capitalist bosses being afraid of the power of the political boss would consent and thus make him a valuable present. But the Fourteenth Street tiger overestimated its power when it pitted itself against the bulls and bears of Wall Street. The Stock Exchange magnates flatly refused to grant the concession required. Then the battle commenced.

Croker returned the blow in the fol-

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THE TRUST CONFERENCE

The general public is coming to recognize the trust as a necessity of modern times, a logical outcome of the struggle for supremacy in the industrial and commercial world. The great truths which were proclaimed by Socialist writers like Karl Marx and Frederick Engels and others are slowly penetrating the minds of the masses of the people and leading to the one inevitable conclusion that trusts are not to be destroyed but transformed.

In the trust conference last week at Chicago much was said by different speakers that was quite unworthy of notice, the speakers themselves failing utterly to comprehend the vast import of the subject, owing chiefly to the fact that they were unable to see that out of the existing order of things must arise a new and higher type and that private property in the essential means of life cannot be continued. But in spite of much narrowness of view, often accompanied with much brilliance in expression, as in the case of Cochran and Bryan; despite also proposals for the regulation of trusts that were quite "childlike and bland," as, for instance, that of Mr. Bryan for governmental "licensing" of trusts, the transfer of the powers of government to a licensing board, the conference may well be regarded as a pronounced educational success. And the one most important fact for the people is that conference in the main agreed that trusts organized and conducted for efficient and economic production cannot and should not be "smashed."

The position of The Herald and of Socialists generally is well known to our readers, and it is, therefore, unnecessary now to restate the reasons why Social Democrats are not alarmed at the modern trust development. It is a matter for congratulation, however, that the world of intelligence—so far as intelligence runs on lines of social and economic study—is coming to recognize the soundness of one Socialist contention, that the trust cannot be legislated away, that the transformation of productive capital, over which the private person and the impersonal trust hold mastery, into social capital operated by society democratically organized, is the certain, necessary and logical step which must be taken to preserve the lives, the liberties and the happiness of the people.

The Socialist view of the trusts was ably presented by Thomas J. Morgan, of Chicago, and in this paper an abstract of his speech will be found.

FROM MAN TO MACHINE

An employer, let us say in the shoe-making industry, employs 200 men making shoes by hand and pays them \$2 a day. Trouble comes because of some difference for which either party may be responsible. The employer has not hitherto used machinery, but he has been getting rich off the labor-power of 200 men. The difficulty between them cannot be settled and a strike or lockout is the result. The employer is anxious to continue manufacturing shoes and increase his fortune. A man comes along with a set of machines that will do ten times as much work in a day as the 200 men were doing, with half their number. The employer buys the machinery, paying for it \$25,000. He sticks up a notice on the factory door: "Wanted—100 men; apply within." The 200 shoemakers, who are now hungry, having sold their labor-power for barely sufficient to maintain an existence, apply for work.

What happens? The capitalist has taken into the business the machine, which works without grumbling, does not agitate, organizes no strikes and never tires. He says to the men: "I don't want shoemakers, but machine tenders; the pay will be \$1.50 a day." The men are hungry, the babies at home need shoes and the wife is patching up old clothes against the cold blasts of winter. Necessity compels them to accept the capitalist's terms. There is a scramble for the jobs; soon the man with the machines has all he needs and one hundred men instead of a job have their eyes opened to the fact that the machine displaces the man.

Now see what happens to the employer, remembering that he has paid \$25,000 for machinery that takes the place of 100 men: Instead of \$400 per day

paid out as wages to 200 men, he pays \$150 per day divided among 100; he effects a saving of \$250 per day, that is, his daily profits are increased that much; this increase of profits is equal to \$75,000 for a working year of 300 days. This enables him (if the factory runs and the machines are operated) to pay the cost price of the machines three times over the first year. Is that all? By no means. The increased productive power of machinery is to be taken into account and this may be and often actually is sufficient to make a millionaire in a single decade and less. Meanwhile the skill of the one hundred shoemakers has been dispensed with; other manufacturers of shoes follow the example and adopt machinery, displacing more workmen, and the process goes on until the few become the masters of the productive forces of society and the arbiters of the people's destinies, as we now find them.

Socialist View of Trusts

The address of Thomas J. Morgan, of Chicago, before the trust conference, served the excellent purpose of saving that much advertised gathering from being an affront to the intelligence of the age. Comrade Morgan's subject was "The trust from the Socialist point of view," of which the following is an abstract:

"We see from the Socialistic view, not the special interest of this or that trade, of this or that nation, of this or that particular race, but we see the interest of the whole human race, as it is involved in the development of modern industry and modern commerce.

"We Socialists see the end of the feudal system. We see the domination of the landed aristocracy destroyed and the rising importance of the new manufacturing and business interests. We see the employer and the merchant stepping into the imperial parliaments and taking charge of the guide of the nations. We see, following the employer, a partnership; following the partnership we find a corporation, and following the corporation in its logical order, we see the introduction of the trusts. We welcome the appearance of the trust as one of the natural and inevitable products of our industrial and commercial system.

"The trust is the legitimate child of capital, and if it were not for the seriousness of the problem, we should be more than amused at the efforts that are made to check the growth and to kill this offspring that is made by those who produce.

"The Socialist sees that you are totally impotent to prevent the operations of trusts. You are impotent to interfere with its growth in the states or in the Union. It overrides your state and national laws in its progress.

"It is very interesting to note the stand that is taken by those who are opposed to their natural offspring. They pose before the American people as the guardians of personal liberty, of good citizenship, of manhood, and they tell us that unless the trust is destroyed we go back to the individual, and business of the past, and we will become slaves; that our dependence in the future must be not upon gigantic organizations or individual property owners, but upon the single individual property owners. We Socialists go back and look over your records and we ask you to listen to what has been before the corporation came, and before the trust was dreamed of. You individual employers, you individual business men, you opened the doors of the orphan asylum, and you took out of it your fatherless children, and put them into your individual factories, and ground their lives into dollars; you took the man and his wife; you took the mother and the child, and you put them into the bowels of the earth to bring out your black diamonds so you could enrich yourselves.

"That spirit is not dead. It is seen in Africa, where the poor Kaffir is down in the diamond mines and the gold mines. It is seen in the effort to subject the Boers. Not alone there, but here—you freed Cuba, didn't you? Oh, the poor Cubans, they must be freed from Spain; but what do you do with the negro down south?—you disfranchise him. Then you individualistic business men, your spirit goes out into the Philippines, and will reduce the Filipinos to the level of your negroes down south.

"You go down to your sunny south-land here and what do you see?—from Virginia and Arkansas, and all these other places where these men have come from that have addressed you about personal liberty and about the enormous resources of their states as one of the inducements to the individual capitalization, they tell you there is no restriction for child labor down south.

"The fetish of private property in the mines, in the oil, in the forests, and in the fields, and everywhere else, is the bane of civilization; is the illusion of civilization, and must be wiped out of the intellect. We Socialists rejoice that the trust has come to show you that the logical sequence of the ownership and control of what is now known as private property and the resources of the earth, that the private property of this great country and others like it, as our friend has said, will be organized into trusts until there will be one trust, and you will not be in it.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

Vanderbilt dead!

So the papers announced one day this week, with flaring headlines and columns of space.

The fact of itself is not worthy of more attention than the death of anybody else, but abnormal social conditions give it a peculiar interest.

And to a thoughtful mind it is an event fruitful of reflection.

Gold is America's god. As a people, we bow down and worship at the shrine of Mammon. Like the Israelites of old, we keep up a perpetual dance around the golden calf of trade. The heaven of our ideal is pillared with ingots, walled with bank-notes, floored with coins, lighted by gems. To get, to gain, to grab, these are the essential purposes of American life. And so it has been that the name "Vanderbilt" is one that is associated in our minds with the idea of supreme success.

Dead! After all his financial Water-looks, after having been president of 45 railroads, after accumulating the unimaginable sum of one hundred millions, dead as a rat in the gutter! What avail was all his success and wealth and monetary power! Death was not to be distanced by his private car, nor refused admission at his Fifth Ave. palace, nor bought off by a nine-figured cheque, nor held at bay by an army of servants. An American success, but a human failure!

A good man, as men go; a saint, in comparison with some of his class, but his manhood counted for nothing; his money counted for all. He was only the human appendage to a fortune, snuffed off like a burnt candle wick. He was noted for what he had, not for what he was. Many a better man has been buried in a potter's field, unmourned, unnoticed and unknown. The man alone was of no account; the man, plus the money, was of supreme importance.

Millionaires are simply the natural product of our competitive system of industry. Vanderbilt's fortune was but the unpaid wages of thousands of American workmen. A small army of laborers has labored incessantly to give this man his fortune, and millions of American citizens contributed to his yearly income. Some have doubtless given up their lives that he might lack no title of his capitalistic title. The marble palace at Newport has been built and furnished by the withheld luxuries of the poor.

Of what use have been the work, the sacrifice, the slaving, when the one who has received the benefit of it all lies cold in death? If a million dollars could give its owner eternal life, or insure him from all bodily harm, there might be some excuse for our perpetuating a system that robs the many to make the few millionaires. But when the man dies, and the money lives, a tyrant power, to oppress and enslave, then it is time to change our national ideals and our social and industrial systems.

Talking of national ideals, I am reminded of an incident that happened this week. On Monday last a huge eagle swooped down at Willimantic, Conn., and carried off a four-year-old child, playing in a dooryard. As I read it, I thought of our national emblem, the screaming eagle, and how truly it represented our present American ideal. I thought of the new-born babe of Philippine liberty, and of the savage attempts being made by the American eagle to carry it off to feed its capitalistic fledglings. Eternal shame upon the nation that apes the actions of so fierce a bird!

We who believe in Socialism are simply trying to abolish those industrial conditions and change that national spirit that make the cruel-clawed eagle a fitting emblem. Why not have a dove, instead of an eagle, a human hand instead of a brute's talon, a laugh instead of a scream? Why not have the kindness of co-operative life, instead of the civilized savageries of competitive conflict? It is not natural for us to fight. We are capable of infinitely higher things than the mere scrambling for a gold coin. Why not fetter the devils of business, then, and be our best and truest selves?

Still, all is not lost. Virtue hath not wholly died in the national breast. There is hope still for darkest America. A short time ago Dwight L. Moody, the evangelist, said of our executive head, "President McKinley lives close to God." It is a glorious assurance to those of us who thought we had good reason to suppose that our president was still keeping company with Hanna. It has been said that God works in a mysterious way, and hence it may be that McKinley is also adopting similar methods to show his fitness for office and title to virtue. This statement of Moody may also explain that divine power of

sight whereby McKinley sees that unseizable thing—American prosperity.

But between you and me and the pen-point, it is high time that we rallied to the support of God, and plucked the Almighty from the grasp of political and religious gamblers, if Moody speaks truly. But, truth to tell, I don't think he does. The real God of truth and righteousness dwells not so much in White House halls as in the humble cottage of the Socialist workman, who feels the divinity of his own cause and strength, and who, by using his vote and voice for the overthrow of force and fraud, lives not only near to God, but is a part of God himself! Merlin.

AS TO FARM LABOR AND LABORERS IN CALIFORNIA

(Eugene Hough in American Fabian)

Let us visit a farm in California and look at the real condition of the laborers upon it.

Here is a milk ranch in Contra Costa county. It embraces about 600 acres of land. The owner lives upon it, near the center, on a plot of ten acres, surrounded with a well-trimmed hedge, in a large, well-built and well-furnished house, surrounded by fish ponds, hot-houses, lawns and flower gardens—a little paradise. Here he entertains his friends, lives and enjoys life in the country.

Not far from this paradise is the ranch house; a small, two-room building with a "lean-to-shed," at one end of which is a long table where the men "feed." Here the ranch foreman and his wife, and a Chinaman live and cook and sleep and superintend the work of the farm.

Near the ranch house is the corral, a huge quadrangle of barns and sheds with an open space in the center. The mules and cows and men and other machinery for operating the farm are here. At one corner of the quadrangle the floor of the shed is raised about a foot above the surrounding portion. The front is inclosed and has a window and door. Inside are milk stools, lanterns, a piece of broken looking-glass, a bucket of drinking water, four bunks three sections high, with blankets more or less clean spread over straw in the bunks. The men who do the work on the farm (and make the little paradise possible) sleep here. Another article of furniture, and that the most essential one, must not escape enumeration—an alarm clock.

At two a. m. this clock wakes the men and summons them to do the milking, in which labor, when they are short-handed, the foreman, his wife and his children turn out and assist. From two until eight o'clock in the morning is devoted to this work; then 30 minutes for breakfast. After breakfast they go into the field and work till noon. At 12:30 p. m. is dinner.

While the men are in the field the foreman's wife is scalding the milk cans and pails—an enormous task. While the Chinaman is cooking the dinner the red-hot range heats the great boilers of water and she draws them off into tanks, where she puts the cans and pails, and there she soaks and strains over the steaming, ill-smelling vats until one wonders why she does not jump into the seething lake and thus end the struggle in one brief spasm of pain.

From 12:30 p. m. until two p. m. the men rest. You would be astonished at the gratitude they manifest toward their employer because he does not make them stay in the field until one o'clock, as some of the milk ranchers do.

At two p. m. they begin milking again. They break the monotony of six hours steady milking by taking a turn at driving the cows into the corral and driving them out again in bands, in the order in which they milked in the morning.

At 8 p. m. the milking is done and supper is ready. The remaining six of the 24 hours are their very, very own. They are free to sleep, to smoke, to visit a saloon three miles down the road, or to study political economy. To be sure, six hours is not much, and in it supper must be eaten and their bodies cleansed. Twelve hours milking in a filthy corral, with one's body resting against a cow, hot, dirty and ill smelling; face and neck continually whipped with a cow's tail dragged in filth; flies and gnats harassing the milker. Four hours in the field plowing, making hay or spreading fertilizer; two hours for breakfast and dinner. This makes 18 hours. Now they must wash, eat their supper, roll up in their blankets and sleep five, or at most five and a half hours.

How men live under such a strain is hard to understand. One of these men said he had been there seven years—ever since his cousin became foreman of the ranch—and that during that time he had missed but three mornings. That is to say, he had "turned out" at two o'clock every morning save three for seven years. In consideration of his reliability he received extra compensation. He was getting \$35 a month, whereas the others were getting \$30 per month.

They all spoke well of their employer and his treatment of them. They thought the wages especially good. And then there was the certainty of continuous employment. They compared their

jobs with that of working in a lumber camp, with which work some of them were familiar and considered themselves extremely fortunate. The only thing of which they complained was that they had no Sundays. They must do duty on Sunday the same as on other days of the week, except a few hours in the morning.

Only one man was saving money. The one who had been there seven years was saving \$300 a year. He was going to get married just as soon as he and his cousin, the foreman, could find a milk ranch that they could buy. He thought this all the aim needed to fill out a complete and rounded life. If he and his cousin could get hold of a milk ranch and have others doing for them what they are now doing, the world and all its conditions would be bright for them and for all others.

As for the others, each one counted upon catching a tramp every few months who would take his place for a week or two, while he went to San Francisco on a spree and spent his savings; then he would return and begin anew.

The sorry effect of their monotonous round of daily drudgery could be seen in their faces. The absence of leisure, with its opportunities for reading and association, was evident in their conversation and actions. There they are, stunted, stupefied and brutalized, with all the sins of Sodom resting upon them. They coarsely boast of their bestial condition, having no ideals higher than so to please their employer that they can retain their "jobs" and remain in their miserable state; no desires other than a vague wish for one day in seven all to themselves, and the chance, perhaps, some day of making other men slave in the same way for them that they are doing now.

Like all divisions of the grand army of labor the farm laborer fares better in some details in certain localities than in others. For instance, in the harvest field he will get better wages than in the vineyard; in an orange orchard he will work less hours than on a wheat ranch. In the main, it will make no difference where you look for him, you will find him slavish, dull, brutish and retrograding. Here is a picture of him as he lives and looks in the great wheat growing district of the San Joaquin valley:

It is seeding time. Rain or shine, hot or cold, there is a continuous column of men moving along with their blankets tied to their backs by bits of bale rope which they have probably stolen from some farmer. They are all seeking employment. Strong, healthy and robust, eager for work.

A band of them meet a ranch foreman and are told there is a chance for them. They can go to work now, in January, and have steady employment till the harvest is completed, next June or July. There will be no money paid to them till the crop is turned off. They can have board and tobacco and boots and shirts, but no money. Six months' work ahead is a regular bonanza for them. They take hold eagerly. They must work faithfully; they must stay with their job till through with the harvest. No matter what wages may be offered by another during the rush of harvest time, they cannot collect wages for past work unless they fulfill the contract and remain where they are until the crop is turned off.

During the winter they get up long before daylight, care for the mules and prepare for the day's work in the field. The "day's work" consists of all the daylight there is to be utilized in the field. The four or five hours' work caring for the stock and tools do not count. Curses, and often blows, together with the ever-present threat of discharge, are the stimulant to extra exertion.

During their six months of labor they will see no butter for their bread, no milk for their coffee. Bread, beef and black coffee are their diet. On Sundays, as they are not required to go into the field, they can care for the stock, wash their shirts and then go down the road to the saloon, where their good friend, the saloon keeper, will give them credit for all the beer and whisky they want, waiting for his pay "till the crop is turned off."

After the harvest—their tobacco, shirts, shoes, and the saloon keeper's bill having been deducted—they are paid off and sent adrift. He is the lucky one who has one-half of his wages coming to him. Let us follow this lucky one awhile.

With his \$75 he goes to the nearest city, buys a "hand-me-down" suit of clothes, and perhaps a new pair of blankets, pays a month's board and then goes on a glorious drunk. If he is very lucky he gets run in early in his spree and the police court takes what money he may have left in the way of fines. His month over, he is now ready to roll up his blankets and start out picking grapes or hops or whatever crop remains to be harvested during the autumn months. He is a degraded, immoral, brutish tramp. No home or family ties can ever be formed or hoped for by his class. He is indeed, below the mules he kicked through the dreary days of last winter.

Bryan wants the trusts licensed. Ah, indeed! And does he for an instant suppose that the trusts will object to be licensed? Why should they?

AMONG THE BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25¢ per month.

CALIFORNIA

Branch No. 1, San Francisco, Cal., holds propaganda meetings every Sunday night at 8 p. m., at Temple 117 Turk St.
Business meeting every Tuesday at 8 p. m., at same place. Hall No. 1.
All communications should be directed to J. C. Waley, Secretary, 115 Turk St., San Francisco, Cal.

Attached Social Democrats throughout California are invited to correspond with the following:
Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, Cal., meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the room of the Friday Morning Club, 3304 South Broadway, F. H. Gill, President, C. C. Ford, 623 W. 10th street, Secretary.

COLORADO

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party meets every Sunday evening at Woodman's Hall, 715 California street, Denver, Colo., 8 p. m. Thos. H. Gibbs, Chairman; Mrs. Ida Mercer, Secretary, 1739 Washington street.

CONNECTICUT

Branch 3 (Conn.), New Haven, meets 1st and 3rd Tuesday in the month, at 22 Cedar St., at 8 p. m. Secretary, Cornelius Mahoney, 15 Frank St.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly, second and fourth Wednesdays of each month, at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn St.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 264 West Madison St.
Branch 2, Chicago, Ill., Bohemian, meets 2d and 4th Saturday evenings at Nagel's Hall, 525 Blue Island Ave. Secretary, Václav Jelinek, 428 W. 18th St.

Branch 3, Chicago, Ill., meets 2d and 4th Monday of each month at Jos. Dundras' place, 1060 W. 18th Place. Secretary, Frank Ott, 866 W. 18th St.

Branch 4, Chicago, meets every first and third Monday evenings of the month, at 29 St. Louis Ave. Secretary, Mrs. Mary Horgan, 1436 Fulton St.

Branch No. 5 Illinois meets 2d and 4th Sundays of each month at Frank Lang's, 117 W. 18th street, corner Jefferson street. Secretary, Paul Chlapicki, 69 W. 18th St.

Branch 3 (German), Chicago, meets every first and third Saturday evening at 8 o'clock at Nagel's Hall, 525 Blue Island Avenue, near 18th street. Emil Tully, Sec'y, 69 W. 18th St.

Branch 3, Chicago, meets at Lundquist Hall, corner 61st and Morgan streets, every first and third Thursday. S. L. Westline, Sec'y, 6243 Center Ave.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3rd Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Maryland, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m., at 22 Cedar St., at 8 p. m. Public invited.
Branch No. 2, Baltimore, Md., meets every Monday at 8 p. m., at 111 W. German St. Secretary, Frank Marek, 1408 N. Gay St.

MASSACHUSETTS

Branch 1, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springfield Turner Hall, Organizer, H. Schlichting, 30 James street.

Branch 3, Lynn, Mass., permanent headquarters 28 Summer St., meets every Monday evening at 7:30 p. m. Open house. Public invited. E. W. Timson, 23 Albany St., Fin. Sec.-Treas.

Branch No. 8, Brockton, meets the 1st and 3rd Tuesday of each month for business, in Cutler's Hall, Clark's Block, Cor. Main and Center streets. Secretary, Frank S. Walsh, No. 323 W. Elm street.

Branch 15, Massachusetts-East Boston—meets every Monday at 8 p. m., at 90 Chelsea St. A. Sweeney, 131 Webster St., Sec.

Branch 17, Chelsea, Mass., meets every Thursday at 8 p. m., room 2, postoffice building, Chelsea. Alfred B. Outram, sec., 71 Ash street.

Branch 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Sec., 33 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treas., Prince Place.

Branch No. 19, Chelsea, Mass., permanent headquarters Room 2, Postoffice building, Chelsea. Alfred B. Outram, sec., 71 Ash street.

Branch 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Sec., 33 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treas., Prince Place.

Branch No. 20, New York (23rd Assembly District) meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month at 234 E. 4th st. L. Funcke, 239 E. 5th st. Sec.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, Minn., meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Geaswein, on Main street. Wm. H. Randall, sec.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters—Room 7, 22 No. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val. Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches inquire at the above address.

St. Louis Central Branch, composed of all members in the city, meets every 2nd Sunday afternoon, 1230 P. M., at Aschenbrenner Hall, 94 Market St. Lecture and general discussion at every meeting. Public invited.

Branch 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1230 Union Ave., Kansas City. G. T. Storz, 1230 W. 8th street, Sec.

NEW YORK

Branch 16 (4th Assn. Dist., N. Y.), meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday of the month, at the room of The Voice of Labor, 107 Henry St. Jacob Panken, 141 E. Broadway, Org.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday of the month at 107 Henry St. Secretary, A. Guyer, 153 Suffolk St.

Branch 1, New York (34th Assembly District) meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month at 234 E. 4th st. L. Funcke, 239 E. 5th st. Sec.

Branch No. 10 (4th Assn. Dist.) New York, meets every second and fourth Friday of each month at the Club Rooms of the "Voice of Labor," at 107 Henry street. Nicholas Rosenauer, Secretary, 151 Madison street. Y. Headquarters Social Democratic Party, 231 Rutledge street, meets every 2nd and 4th Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested in socialism and the Social Democratic Party are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate with us in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, 31 Rutledge St., Secretary.

Branch No. 20, New York (23rd Assembly District) meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays of each month at Fairbank's Hall, 1551 Second Avenue, New York City. Secretary, R. Hoppe, 228 E. 8th street.

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets second and fourth Saturdays of each month at 107 Forsyth street, in the Social Democratic League rooms. Alex. Kahn, 118 Broome St., secretary.

OHIO

Branch No. 1, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Oberlin Hall, 62 York street, second and fourth Sundays, at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Golden Rule Branch, No. 4, Cincinnati, Ohio, meets at Richelle Hall, southeast corner Ninth and Plum Sts., first and third Mondays in each month, at 8 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Secretary, Chas. D. Linsley, 428 W. Ninth St.

Branch 3, Cincinnati, meets every 2d and 4th Saturday, in Workingmen's Hall, 1218 Walnut St. Secretary, J. L. Franks, 1214 Walnut St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch 2, Erie, Pa., meets every Sunday afternoon at K. of L. Hall, 716 State street. Chairman, Chas. Heydrick; secretary, Geo. B. Laird, 12 W. 10th street.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. Funk, 100 South 25th and Josephine, 100 South 25th. Sec'y, John, 34 Addison st. Secretary, J. H. Lewis, 2113 Jane st.

WISCONSIN

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Thursday evening of the month at the Milwaukee Society Building, 551 Jefferson st. Visiting always welcome. Secretary, Václav Jelinek, 428 W. 18th St.

Branch 3, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at H. Sigel's Hall, 3 E. corner Orchard street and 8th Avenue. Secretary, Fred Brockhausen, 711 Windlake Avenue.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, Wis., meets the second Wednesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin "Vorwärts," 614 State St.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Peterleus hall, 717 Center street, at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, secretary.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at No. 618 East Water street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary. John Doerfler, Treasurer.

Reply to Comrade Haile

Comrade Haile sets up several men of straw, naming them all "Gordon," and proceeds to knock 'em down.

Comrade Haile expressed almost my idea when she said not many weeks ago that "any old thing would do for a constitution until the next convention."

I am taking time in advance to warn our young party not to waste its valuable time over an endless discussion of this or that constitution. But it will be of no avail.

A constitution that suits one will not another, so we must scrap and change to the end.

Nobody said you were anarchists so no thanks are needed.

Comrades Carey and Haile very ably represented the S. D. A. and S. D. P. at Chicago in '98 and I reckon they might do it again. This is the second bouquet, but if you comrades don't want any New Hampshire bouquets, I'll throw 'em somewhere else.

I didn't know we were to have delegates to the International Congress. I of course knew we wanted and would have one, but we don't need two and it would be downright foolishness to spend an extra \$400 for an extra delegate, because we need that \$400 ten million times more for organization purposes.

Now, dear readers, don't fly in the air and say "Gordon wants a job." I assure you I don't and further that I'm not going to be a paid organizer. I've worked for a great many bosses and a working class organization is about the least satisfactory boss that I know of.

I didn't say you in Massachusetts were "neglecting the matter of organization."

I didn't refer to Massachusetts comrades "giving" or not giving. Comrade Debs, I believe, did refer to that in some way in a recent communication. I too know the comrades in Massachusetts pretty well and I realize that many of them are giving a great deal more than they can afford to, but that don't alter the fact that the future of the S. D. P. does depend on how much we give and do, does it? I made no allusion to how much or how little Massachusetts Social Democrats were giving to the cause. It's none of my business.

What is the sense of a man jumping into the water who cannot swim? Not any that I know of. But that don't prove that it's not always a good thing to help organize Maine for instance? Was it wise or unwise for Manchester and New Hampshire, to a certain extent, to be sacrificed to benefit Massachusetts? However, this is not a casus belli.

F. G. R. Gordon.

Class Consciousness

I feared my article on "Party or League," in so far as it had reference to the class-conscious doctrine, would prove offensive to many of the members of the S. D. P.; but as there is little use in writing only that which will fit in with the prejudices of one's readers, I concluded to let it go.

Mr. Ziegler commits a very common error when, instead of meeting my arguments, he refers me to some Socialist publication.

In the first place I have not only read the book referred to but have also discussed this matter personally with the author of the work in question, and am still unconvinced of the logic of his position.

When Comrade Ziegler talks of prior evolutionary I would suggest to him just this one thought: It is perfectly true that such changes have all been economic class movements, the result of one section of the community endeavoring to rise at the expense of another section; and as a consequence have been unsound in their economic basis, unjust in their practical working out.

If Socialism comes by the same way as have these previous evolutions; if, like them, it is the product of a sectional strife with selfishness instead of moral principles as its inspiration, then undoubtedly it will be neither more lasting nor satisfactory than were the stages through which we have already passed.

It is to me an instance of peculiar blindness to find men conversant with past economic history who yet believe that a movement can prove lastingly beneficial, which shall have been inaugurated on precisely similar lines to those adopted in previous evolutions. The value of history is that it teaches us to avoid repeating the blunders of previous generations.

Let me, in conclusion, suggest to Comrade Ziegler that instead of confin-

ing his reading to Socialist literature he enlarges his range to include other fields, and then perhaps he will not be dependent upon others for his beliefs, but will be able to evolve some ideas of his own. Yours fraternally,

Lionel Levoguo.

Big St. Louis Meeting

In its report of the meeting addressed by Eugene V. Debs at St. Louis, Sept. 9, at which 3,000 persons were present, the St. Louis Republic says:

"After a few preliminary observations about the cause of labor and the present general condition of wage-earners throughout the country, the speaker launched forth into his subject. He ridiculed the idea of the Anti-Trust Convention of Governors, called for in this city on September 20, for the purpose of controlling or restraining the trusts. He said the trusts could not be controlled by any of the methods proposed by the members of the convention. As for destroying the trusts, which some of the delegates to this Anti-Trust Convention are deluding themselves and their constituents into believing can be accomplished, he declared an impossibility.

"How are they going to do it? Can you compel men," he asked, "to compete against each other, to destroy each other's business? Is the trust illegal? Is partnership illegal? If one, why not the other? The trust is not an evil in itself. It is an evil only because it is controlled by the few, to the detriment of the masses."

Competition, the speaker said, was responsible for the formation of trusts. When an individual wished to enlarge his business to compete in a new market, he combined his capital with another individual, and formed a firm. A firm, actuated by the same impulse, combined with another to form a company; the company similarly branched into a corporation; the corporation ultimately concentrates its capital in a trust.

"This, then, is the sequence of the progression of capital—the individual, the firm, the company, the corporation, the trust, and, last—the people, which is the only true and logical conclusion of the sequence."

Debs Family Reunion

Surrounded by nineteen children, grand children and great grand children, Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Debs celebrated their golden wedding anniversary Wednesday evening at the Terre Haute house, where the children gave a private dinner in honor of the occasion.

Jean Daniel Debs and Miss Marguerite Betterich were married in New York City on September 13, 1849, shortly after their arrival in America. Early in 1850 the young couple moved to Cincinnati, and in the following year came to Terre Haute. Mr. Debs engaged in the grocery business, and in 1858 built the building at Eleventh and Main streets, in which he has since resided. He was engaged in business until 1890, when he retired.

The members of the family present Wednesday evening were Jean Daniel Debs and Mrs. Marguerite Debs, the parents; Mrs. Mary Heintz of Terre Haute, Mrs. Louise Michel of Marion, Ind., Eugene V. Debs of Terre Haute, Mrs. Eugénie Debs Selby of Terre Haute, Mrs. Emma Mailoux of New York and Theodore Debs of Chicago, the children. The grandchildren present were Fred and Robert Heintz, Eugene Michel, Howard Debs Selby and Marguerite Debs. The great grandchild is Marie Heintz, daughter of Fred Heintz. The other relatives present were John G. Heintz, husband of Mrs. Mary Debs Heintz; Mrs. Jessie Heintz, wife of Fred Heintz; Mrs. Katherine Debs, wife of Eugene V. Debs; C. O. Mailoux, husband of Mrs. Emma Mailoux, and Mrs. Theodore Debs.—Terre Haute Toller.

Liquid Air

Liquid air bears the same relation to mechanics that the trust does to economics, inasmuch as both are displacers of labor; we already find four millions of men walking up and down our country, out of work, and glad to receive the crumbs from the rich man's table; they find themselves the victims of improved machinery and the advanced methods of the trusts. Following the great law of concentration we find liquid air not exempt; for in this simple looking white fluid is combined three of the great requisites of modern civilization—a motive power, an explosive and a refrigerant. By the application to machinery of the tremendous expansive power contained in liquid air a motive power will be developed that will supplant steam, and with the introduction of electricity in the heating of our houses and cooking food (and it isn't far distant) the consumption of coal will be reduced to a minimum and coal miners and heavies will be relegated to the rear of the work line. When it becomes perfected as an explosive the opportunity for a gratuitous send off to the summerland, which has always been accorded to the worker in the powder mill, will be withheld, for Filipinos and other like folks, who wish to stay at home and mind their own business can be more expeditiously disposed of by liquid air.

G. B. Hoyt.

The Farm Question

As usual I come once more with "figgers," and figgers won't lie you know. However, my comrade Martin may say that liars will "figger."

But then the "figgers" are not mine, but from the U. S. Census Reports.

Theoretical Socialists contend that concentration of land and bonanza farming is coming in the near future. Quite likely it is coming, but none of us can tell when and it is pretty safe to say that it's not coming "in our time." I am now convinced that we should discuss this farmers' question.

First as to special class appeals. Is it not true that we are making a special appeal to that class of wage workers which are organized in the trades? And I certainly believe it good policy and good principles too.

Does Comrade Martin and others believe that society is "split into two distinct classes * * * the small possessing class of capitalists * * * and the ever increasing class of dispossessed wage workers?" Does Comrade Martin think the interests of the average American farmer are with the first or last class?

Is a shoemaker who has \$2,000 in a bank or a little home worth \$2,000 to be classed with the "possessing class?"

And is a farmer who has a 100 acre farm worth \$1,000 with a mortgage for all it's worth a capitalist, or does he belong to the working class?

Is or is not the average farmer exploited? Is or is not the average farmer a wealth producer and a worker? If the exploited trade unionist should have a special appeal made to him, why should not the exploited farmer be used in the same way? If it is scientific to improve the condition of the pure and simple trade unionists, how comes it unscientific to improve the condition of the working class farmer?

If the exploited trade unionist enjoys the Socialistic service of the letter carrier, why should not the exploited farmer enjoy the same?

Shall we give national insurance to all the working people or only to the wage workers, and will this include the professional workers, the \$1,800 a year drummers, etc., and will it exclude the farmer whose income per capita is less than 40 cents per day? If a uniform postal rate is wise for all the people, why would not a uniform postal rate for the transportation of freight, including agricultural products, be wise for all the people?

Which is the wisest, to have an elevator trust store grain, etc., for the farmers at a profit or to have the government own elevators and store the grain at cost?

Is or is it not unscientific for the nation to control the forests and waterways?

The Irish Republican Socialist Party have their farmers' demands; and this party has been endorsed as the par excellence scientific Socialist party.

Now let us see how this concentration of land is going on. In the North Atlantic division, including all of New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, with 658,569 farms in 1890, the so-called large farmers decreased by 14,000 from 1880 to 1890.

In Ohio with 251,430 farms and a total increase of 4,241 in 10 years, this increase was all small farms. In fact the large farms from 100 acres up decreased in ten years 4,000 in round numbers in Comrade Martin's state.

The increase in the large farms is in about a dozen states. The total number of bonanza farms of 1,000 or more acres is 31,546, an increase since 1880 of 2,968, and it is shown that Texas and California, just two states, increased such farms 2,763. The increase in bonanza farms is almost entirely in our sparsely settled states. In a large majority of the states a decrease of larger farms is taking place.

To sum up it is proved that concentration is not taking place in agriculture with any degree of rapidity. It is proved, in the east at least, that hundreds and thousands of wage hands who have saved two or three thousand dollars are buying small farms. I believe this to be true also in several southern states. It is likewise a fact that the wage slave class is not in a majority in the nation and won't be in our time. And if they were in a majority it is quite evident to me that unaided they would not free themselves. Slaves never did emancipate themselves. The late Comrade Watkins, of Ohio, made the above argument to me in a letter written in Jan. '97. And Comrade Watkins was one of the best posted men in America.

Now why did I vote to drop the farmers' demands? Simply because there is a large element of good Socialists who have recently split the S. L. P. into two camps. These Socialists have learned their Socialism largely from the people. They honestly believe the farmer to be a cruel capitalist. The discussion of the farm question and the farmer has never engaged their attention. I for one want that reform S. L. P. element to unite with the S. D. P. and I want nothing placed in their way. We can discuss this great question with them in the future. I want them and I would vote to

drop some more of our platform if by that we could gain 2,000 Socialists for our organization. I am getting around to that condition when I realize that we are not going to elect a president pretty quick and when I recall history I learn that the real scientific parties grow awful slow. The abolition parties were scientific on the slavery question, but the honest and unscientific republican party with unscientific Abe Lincoln did the business. I would like to ask Comrade Martin if he believes, from the standpoint of a wage worker in America, that the Social Democratic Party of Europe is a scientific movement?

I should like very much to see the platform of the Socialist parties of Europe and Australia printed in the Herald.

John J. Ingalls has said that there are ten million people in this nation that never get enough to eat or wear. I want Socialism for those people "in our time." I don't believe there is an absolutely scientific Socialist platform yet adopted by any Socialist party anywhere. Here is my stand:

Let us be as scientific as we can with the best interests of humanity always in view. Let us always remember the millions of human beings that are slowly and surely starving to death. Comrade Martin surely makes a mistake when he says the Pops put silver in their platform for policy. I know that in 1892 and down to the end of the campaign in '96 the Pops largely believed free silver to be a principle and everybody knows that it was fusion and not the 16 to 1 nonsense that killed the Pops.

Comrade Martin says we should not make appeals to any special class. When a working class numbers nearly 6,000,000 votes and 30,000,000 population in a nation like ours, I believe it good policy and far reaching in its more rapid adoption of our principles.

There are two views to take of this whole question:

We should take such a position as will enable us to build a successful party true to all the workers, which will land us in the White House in the near future; or, we should take the other position of being absolutely scientific with the idea of driving some other party to give us about all we want.

I have purposely left several holds for there is method in my madness after all.

F. G. R. Gordon.

The Working Mule

A man rode a donkey on a very long and rough journey. Feed and water were scanty and care for his donkeyship was the least thought of the master. Finally the back of the beast became sore and he complained of the load and insisted that the rider should get off and walk. To this the rider objected, but says "I will institute a reform that will ease you. I will increase the tariff and establish civil service." And he nudged back a little, off the sore, and the donkey feeling somewhat easier because the pressure had been removed from the sore spot, went on with little complaint. Finally a gall sore was raised on the new point of pressure and the donkey said, "Now I am tired of this and I want you to get off and stay off." But the rider replied, "I cannot do this, but I tell you what I will do, I will institute a new reform that will give you relief; I will revise the tariff." And he nudged forward a little. And thus he cajoled the donkey with promises and deceptions for the long journey of life, pretending to pity him and feeding him on hopes that tariff, free trade, fiat money, gold standard, free silver imperialism and other nostrums would be just as good as getting off his back. That donkey is the working mule. He has been carrying his masters through all the ages of the past, eating thistles and having his back worn in sores, first fore then aft, and yet he listens to the oily tongues of the masters who possess all his labor has created. The donkey is a familiar object everywhere. You can see him wherever you look, his stupid face, his ragged clothes, his lean, lank, hungry eyes peering out from a shabby head covering, his miserable stable that answers him for a home. Have you not seen him? He has the strength to knock off those who ride him, but his mind is hypnotized, and he believes, no matter what country he calls his home, that he is one of the freest mortals and that his country is the grandest on earth. Poor donkey.—Appeal to Reason.

Single Plankers

The D. L. fellows are after me "hot foot." Those who know me best, and love me least, can tell whether that is likely to convince me of the error of my ways. The single plankers remind me that a man does not go to the top of a ladder at a single leap; (he might by putting it top down in a well and jumping in after it) but I must also remind them that the top of a ladder with only one round is not a very elevated position. Our only point of difference is that I want to put a complete ladder against the battlements of Oppression, so that he who starts to scale them may have an end in view. I presume when they get upon the bottom round of theirs, that being the only one they propose to have, they will quit or shin up the side sticks.—Bige Eddy in Industrial Freedom.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN GREATER NEW YORK

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